DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 457 510 CG 031 297

AUTHOR Ostrove, Joan M.; Long, Susan M.
TITLE White Women's Social Class Identity and the College Experience.
PUB DATE 2001-08-00
NOTE 29p.; Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the American Psychological Association (109th, San Francisco, CA, August 24-28, 2001).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS College Freshmen; College Seniors; *Females; Higher Education; Identification (Psychology); Interpersonal Competence; Lower Class Students; *Social Cognition; *Social Status; Upper Class

ABSTRACT

One hundred first-year women and 100 senior women attending a private liberal arts college in Minnesota completed a questionnaire about their class background and current class identity, and the extent to which they thought class had an affect on their lives. Information was also obtained about their scholarships and financial aid. While the results showed no differences among social class groups in terms of how the women saw class affecting their lives in general or their experiences at the college, women from lower middle class and poor backgrounds articulated considerably less access to different kinds of resources. Seniors were more likely to believe that their social class affected their lives in general. Women from upper middle class and upper class backgrounds were more likely to say that they lived a life of ease but many struggled with the goal of trying to become independent. (Contains 11 references.) (JDM)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

ED 457 510

White Women's Social Class Identity and the College Experience

Joan M. Ostrove & Susan M. Long

Macalester College

Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Heather Bullock (Chair), Constructing Class Identities: The Impact of Educational Experiences, San Francisco, CA, August, 2001.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

S. OSTROVE

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

CG031297

White Women's Social Class Identity and the College Experience

Although social class is a notoriously un-discussed issue in both U.S. society and in the discipline of psychology, recent national and local media attention – as well as recent scholarship in psychology and related disciplines – suggests that higher education is one useful context in which to raise discussions about social class. A cover story in the June 8, 2001 Wall Street Journal described the ways in which a "culture of money highlights [the] class divide" at elite universities, where meal plans, dorm rooms, and access to computers and cell phones are increasingly visible markers of who has and who has not. The story focuses on one raised working-class woman who attends Duke University, where she says that fellow students "can't comprehend that my parents didn't go to college, that my Dad's a prison guard." Last fall, the student newspaper at Macalester College (where the research we'll discuss today was conducted) ran an editorial by a student from a working-class background, who said,

> "I wish I had more money. I wish that instead of having this easy, yet unrecognized street cred[ibility] of the financially strapped, I had to hide the fact that my parents were rich. Although I know my shabbily stylish lifestyle receives the 'poverty is cool' stamp of approval from my more well-off acquaintances, when the time comes to pay the tab, I secretly wish they'd put their appreciation into practice and stretch their parents' plastic in my direction. It's kind of a degrading thing to want—I resent them for the stuff they have yet I want a piece. Maybe it's because it's so much easier for them to fake my lifestyle than it is for me to live like a trustafarian."

These articles suggest that class is a considerably more salient issue – at least to working-class people in upper-class environments – than dominant U.S. ideology would have us believe, and that it has a considerable influence on how people from working-class backgrounds navigate

institutions of higher education that were built by – and largely for – people of the middle and upper classes.

Recent attention to the lives of working-class women and men in academia reveals a persistent sense of difference and alienation (e.g, Cohen, 1998; Dews & Law, 1995; hooks, 2000; Ostrove & Stewart, 1994; Stewart & Ostrove, 1993; Tokarczyk & Fay, 1993). Women in particular describe both a sense of empowerment from completing a college degree as well as increased distance from their families of origin. They describe conflicting messages from different social class milieus about what their gender roles "should" be. They describe marginalization from their fellow students and feelings of being unprepared both socially and academically.

On the other hand, research conducted with women who attended college in the 1960s suggested that white women from middle- and especially upper-class backgrounds who attend private colleges tend to report few or no experiences of alienation or unpreparedness, instead articulating a sense of belonging through family traditions or the assumption that they would attend a certain kind of school (Ostrove, under review; Ostrove & Stewart, 1993).

The research that we'll describe today was designed to help us understand the experiences of white women from all class backgrounds who attended Macalester College, a small, private liberal arts college in St Paul, Minnesota. Women were given the opportunity to articulate what class means to them, and how it does or does not shape different aspects of their lives, particularly their experiences of college. While this was an exploratory study, we expected that women from poor or working-class backgrounds would have a more critical consciousness of the ways that class affected their lives, particularly in an elite college environment, than would women from middle- or upper-class backgrounds, and that the psychological effects of class background would be more pronounced and salient for them.

Method

Participants

All participants were white women from the U.S. attending Macalester College. Macalester College is a private liberal arts school in St. Paul, Minnesota, with about 1700 students, 88% of whom are white and 13% of whom are from countries outside of the United States. The overarching focus of the administration, faculty and students is advertised to the public and prospective students as "academic excellence in the context of internationalism, diversity, and a commitment to service" (www.macalester.edu/about.html, 2001). Although focusing only on white women does not allow for an analysis of the intersections between class and race, it does allow us to focus on the difference that class can make within racial/ethnic groups. One hundred first-year women and 100 senior women were randomly selected through the Macalester College Center on Institutional Research. Women in Introduction to Psychology were also given the opportunity to participate for credit, and eight students chose to do so. Seventy-two questionnaires were returned, at a return rate of 36%. [OVERHEAD] Four sophomores mistakenly received the questionnaire, and were excluded from the final sample, leaving the final pool at 68 participants ($F_{irst\ years} = 32$, $S_{eniors} = 36$). All participants were between the ages of 17 and 22, with a mean age of 19.7 years.

Materials/ Procedure

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire was based on a combination of previous questionnaires and new material. [OVERHEAD] It asked participants to rate their own class background and current class identity (based on Jackman, 1979), to describe the extent to which they thought class had an effect on their lives in general and on their experiences at Macalester in particular, and to share information about scholarships, financial aid, and other class-relevant parameters. Finally,

the women were asked to describe the ways in which they thought class might affect their friendships.

The Interviews

Forty-two women volunteered to participate in an interview portion of the study, and all were given the opportunity to be interviewed. Due to scheduling conflicts, which are great at the end of the semester when the interviews were conducted, twenty-eight interviews were conducted ($N_{First\ years} = 13$, $N_{Seniors} = 13$) and two interviews with sophomores were excluded.

The interviews were conducted and audiotaped in a relaxed psychology lab setting. Before each interview, Susan Long explained the format of the interview, gave a brief explanation of the study, and had each participant read and sign an informed consent form . The consent form specified that the interview would be audio recorded, that all names would be kept confidential and that they could end their participation at any time (Appendix D). Participants were given the opportunity to ask questions both before and after the interview.

The interview questions were divided into groups assessing several themes. Questions focused on how the women describe the social class group they belong to, on relationships with friends and family, and on how the Macalester experience and the Macalester culture are affected by class. Each interview lasted between 25 minutes and one hour. The average interview lasted 35 minutes.

Coding the Questionnaires

A codebook was created in an effort to capture common themes as well as conceptually important themes that were not necessarily mentioned often. Themes were generated by examining answers from the first 40 surveys returned. First, Susan Long read through all of the surveys and recorded the frequencies of all the themes that were mentioned, for each question. Next, she selected the themes that were stated the most often and those mentioned by only a few

people, and worked to group those themes to capture slightly broader concepts. The broad themes that we will discuss today were: access, quality of life, friends, and explicitly psychological factors such as feelings of alienation, privilege, changes in relationships, and guilt [OVERHEAD].

The codebook was refined during the reliability phase, in which Susan Long and Joan Ostrove independently classified responses into coding categories, based on their presence or absence in the women's answers.

Results

Social class identification

Nearly half (44.1%) of the participants identified as upper middle class (N_{Total}=30, $N_{First\text{-}Years}$=12, $N_{Seniors}$=18). Twenty participants (29.4%) identified as middle class ($N_{First\text{-}Years}$=13, $N_{Seniors}$=7), and 13 students (19.1%) identified themselves as lower middle class (N_{Total}=13, $N_{First\text{-}Years}$=4, $N_{Seniors}$=9). Four participants (5.9%) identified as upper class ($N_{First\text{-}Years}$=4, $N_{Seniors}$=1) and one senior identified as poor (1.5%). No participants identified as working class.

In order to create more evenly represented categories, the five social classes represented were collapsed into three categories: lower middle class (poor and lower middle class), middle class, and upper middle class (upper middle class and upper class). These three categories were more evenly distributed. The lower middle class group now consisted of 14 participants ($N_{First\text{-}Years}$=4, $N_{Seniors}$=10), the middle class group remained the same (N_{Total}=20, $N_{First\text{-}Years}$=13, $N_{Seniors}$=7), and the upper middle class group grew to 34 participants ($N_{First\text{-}Years}$=19, $N_{Seniors}$=15).

Survey Results—Quantitative Data

Interestingly, there were no differences among social class groups in terms of how the women saw class affecting their lives in general ($F[2, 67] = 2.08$, n.s.) or their experiences at Macalester in particular ($F[2, 67] = 0.40$, n.s.) [OVERHEAD]. There were, however, differences

in the responses to these questions between first year students and seniors. Seniors were more likely than first-years to believe that their social class affected their lives in general (Mean $_{\text{Seniors}}$ = 4.19, Mean $_{\text{First Years}}$ = 3.72, t(66) = -2.29, $p < 0.025$). Senior women were also more likely to report that class affected their Macalester experience in general (Mean $_{\text{Seniors}}$ = 3.15, Mean $_{\text{First Years}}$ = 2.50, t(60.280) = -2.23, $p < 0.029$). Whether or not participants were on financial aid also distinguished among respondents, where lower middle class/poor and middle class participants were more likely to be on financial aid than were participants from upper middle class/ upper class backgrounds.

While there were no differences by class group in the overall effects of class, there were class differences among the women in the ways in which they elaborated on the meanings of class for them. In general, mentions of having access or not having access – to Macalester, to basic needs, to opportunities, to material possessions were substantially divided along class lines. [OVERHEAD] Women from poor/ lower middle class backgrounds were significantly less likely (21.4%) to mention having access and significantly more likely (71.4%) to mention not having access than were women from women from middle class (75.0%; 15.0%, respectively) and upper middle class/ upper class (61.8%; 0.0%, respectively) backgrounds (χ^2 [68] = 10.20, $p < .006$); χ^2 [68] = 33.03, $p = 0.00$).

Easy Life versus Difficult Life

With respect to the effects of class on their lives in general and on their lives growing up, there were significant differences among classes with respect to who mentioned having a life of relative ease, growing up in a safe neighborhood, or not having to worry or feel stress. When explaining how their social classes have or have not had an effect on their lives in general, women from upper class/ upper middle class backgrounds (41.2%) tended to mention that they experience lives of relative ease, that they have not had to worry or stress about things, or that

they lived in safe neighborhoods, as compared with women from middle class backgrounds (25.0%) and women from lower middle class/ poor backgrounds (7.1%) (χ^2 [68] = 5.79, p < .055). Post hoc analyses revealed a significant difference between the numbers of upper middle class/upper class women and lower middle class who mentioned living a life of ease.

[OVERHEAD] Any mention of themes relating to having an easy life anywhere in the survey revealed significant differences between poor/ lower middle class (7.1%) and the upper middle class/ upper class (73.5%), and the upper middle class/ upper class and the middle class (35.0%) participants (χ^2 [68] = 19.57, p = .000). In similar fashion, there were significant differences between poor/ lower middle class (57.1%) and both the middle class (15.0%) and the upper middle class/ upper class (2.9%) groups in the amount they mentioned themes relating to having a difficult life anywhere in the survey (χ^2 [68] = 20.18, p = .000).

Friends

Two main themes under the broad category of friends emerged. First, the idea that social class can serve as a common background or that a common social class creates a common understanding was mentioned by 7.1% of poor/ lower middle class women, 10.0% of middle class women, and 32.4% of upper middle class/ upper class women (χ^2 [68] = 5.80, p < .055). In addition, there were differences in rates of mentioning conflict with close friends (χ^2 [68] = 5.77, p < .056). Post hoc analyses revealed that both poor/ lower middle class women (21.4%) and upper middle class/ upper class women (5.9%) mentioned that there were areas of conflict with their close friends, while middle class women did not mention having conflict with their friends at all (0.0%; (χ^2 [68] = 5.767, p = .056).

Psychological Factors

Women identified as upper middle class/ upper class were the only participants who mentioned being thankful anywhere in the survey (17.6%) (χ^2 [68] = 6.58, p < .037). There was

also a marginally significant difference for mentioning privilege in the answers. More women from the upper class/ upper middle class group used the word privilege (44.1%) than women from the middle class group (20.0%) and poor/ lower middle class group (14.3%) (χ^2 [68] = 5.71, $p < .058$). Very few respondents mentioned guilt or anything that was coded as alienation.

Discussion

The analyses presented demonstrate that while there are no class differences in women's overall sense of the effects of class on their lives in general or at Macalester, women from lower middle class and poor backgrounds articulate considerably less access to different kinds of resources, have less "easy" lives, and struggle a bit more in their friendships than do their middle class, upper middle class, and upper class peers. While perhaps the community at Macalester is more open and accommodating than other colleges because lower middle class and poor women do not report feelings of alienation, there are certainly class-related issues that are not easily discussed or accommodated at Macalester, and that clearly play significant roles in women's lives there.

While the statistical data presented provide a concrete means of understanding how women perceive their social class, we'd like to take the last few minutes of this presentation to complicate the picture a bit further, using data from the interviews to illuminate the less-than-straightforward ways that class affects young adult white women's lives at college.

Women from upper middle class and upper class backgrounds were more likely to say that they live a life of relative ease, or that they do not need to worry much. However, life is not necessarily so straightforward for these women, especially if they have goals in mind such as becoming independent from their families. One senior, upper middle class woman stated,

> I guess I feel pretty unaffected by [my social class] because I do struggle a lot being in college and I do try to be independent financially, but I definitely don't have the anxiety

> of loans. My parents are paying for my school as I go along, and I always have home to fall back on. I have a great family and a house that I can always live in. I'm not afraid to do that. I can always borrow money from my mom if I wanted to. In fact, she's giving my $100 a month this year because I don't have enough time to work as much as I usually do, so there definitely are a lot of anxieties that are eliminated because of my social class.

While she understands that her class affords her certain luxuries, such luxuries come at a price—for this woman, it is the price of feeling independent. For other women, a feeling of discord comes with knowing that not everyone has the same opportunities. Another upper-middle-class senior remarked, "I feel good that my life's easy. Sometimes I guess I feel guilty that I just lucked out and that other people don't have that same privilege, but most of the time I think it's just lucky." One first year, also upper middle class, nicely summed these two ideas together, saying, "It made me sort of feel the need to be more independent--realizing that other people were not as financially well off as I was. And I'd always, I always felt that, but seeing other people and how they were paying for things and how they were working made me feel the need to do that myself."

These dual perspectives are present in women from lower middle class/ poor backgrounds as well. While they can understand that their lives aren't as easy as others' lives, the women I interviewed also expressed feelings of pride for their class. For instance, when asked about how she felt about being from a middle class/ lower middle class background, one senior stated,

> I was always kind of proud of it. I knew it was really, I mean in a lot of ways it's difficult, I mean when you want to do things that you can't. I was really proud of it that I was able to get far almost on my own. . . I think it gave me a sense of empathy too, for

> people no matter who they are, no matter their social class, particularly the lower ones, I tend to fight for the underdog. You know, a good empathy for people who come from positions like me or who are worse off, really.

The feelings of empathy for, and understanding of people "who are worse off" can often be a point from which activism can spring (Cohen, 1998), especially in the Macalester community where activism and service are encouraged.

The greatest diversity of responses emerged when the women were asked to elaborate on how the Macalester experience and social class do or do not interact. One middle class senior pointed out how class fundamentally shapes the Macalester experience.

> You don't see a lot of working class families here. Maybe that goes along with the association of like educated upper class and lower class/ working class but yeah, I think [Macalester is missing people from] the lower end of the spectrum, and also the upper end of the spectrum—if someone was like upper upper class they wouldn't come to Macalester because they'd be able to buy their way into the Ivy Leagues or something like that, no matter how intelligent or unintelligent they were.

The idea that the more well off students would go to even more prestigious institutions was also echoed by a senior from the lower middle class, who stated that, "Class was a major issue in applying to college—I knew that both my grades and test scores could get me a scholarship to a place like Macalester—but also that I could never afford to go to the 'best' college I could get into."

A common response to questions about friends and social class was that having a similar social class to one's friends creates a common background or understanding. The women's actual words point to the depth of some women's ability to understand this situation, however. One middle class senior wrote, "I guess since we are the same social class it's not really an issue.

I mean it's not like we bond over our childhoods. It's more of like, this passive thing where we know we all grew up fairly similarly. And there's probably not a lot of those issues to deal with, with each other. It's actually probably affected it by not affecting it at all." Because she and her friends are of the same social class, they don't have to negotiate the boundaries of their class, and the ways that their lives intersect, in regard to their class. However, a middle class first year had a different opinion. She felt that acknowledging commonalties of social class was a bonding experience.

> But yeah, it's definitely easier to identify with people who are of your same social class, which is a strong basis for friendship because you understand them, where they come from, and like, why they do what they do. Like me and Julie [my best friend from home] don't go to Benneton and buy clothes together, we go to Target. Like all summer basically I worked and all summer, my friends from [my private boarding] school basically traveled. It's just so different and like, we're never going to have the same lives until I get rich, and then I'll go visit them. They just don't understand, and probably will never understand because it's like, over their heads. [Julie and I] were in the same high school actually…We've both seen the same two different worlds and we can laugh at them both.

This woman recognizes the misunderstandings that class differences can bring, as well as the value of having a shared experience with a friend. However, it is interesting to note that she expects to be on equal ground with her high school friends when she becomes wealthy—not when they become middle class.

Conflicts between friends of different classes were brought up frequently, and one middle class/ lower middle class senior explained that she has "not found a lot of empathy" with friends who are wealthier than she is. She says that, "Those relationships don't last very long if they are

not willing to understand what you are going through. It's not a purposeful thing, it's just the way it works…less understanding." Such understanding can be traversed though, as long as a person knows what type of support she will get from her friends. One lower middle class/ working class/ poor senior stated, "So the negotiating is a little different, like who you can go to—who will understand from experience and who will just sympathize with it." Her friends from similar and different backgrounds are supportive to her, because all of them try to understand her position, just as she tries to understand theirs. When the effort isn't just one-sided ("When I get rich…"), the friendship can really work.

One problem that exacerbates these issues, some students feel, is that people at Macalester don't talk about class. One lower middle class/ middle class senior stated, "I don't think there is a class mentality. People just don't want to deal with it. It is mystified."

> I feel like Macalester talks a lot more about race and generally and doesn't talk about class. And I think part of it is just this American expectation that no one has a social class, and part of it is this really offensive assumption on the part of professors and on the part of upper middle class students that we're all upper middle class and that all of us have parents paying our tuition.

Making class more visible

While some women from middle class, lower middle class, and poor backgrounds expressed a specific need for better guidance when filling out financial aid forms, or a desire to have someone to talk to about what to expect when they go home, there was also a larger issue at stake. Women from all social classes noted that social class is just not discussed at Macalester, and that if the College is going to continue with its goal of diversity and multiculturalism, such a definition of diversity must be expanded to include social class. Social class, like other forms of diversity, affects everyone on the Macalester campus. It is up to us to start talking about social

class both inside and outside of the classrooms, at a level that is grounded in our experiences of social class in daily life in the places where we live and work. One potentially fruitful area for future research would be to compare campuses like Macalester with those that have programs specifically designed for working class students. As the Wall Street Journal article about Duke University referred to at the beginning of this talk noted, "unlike blacks or Latinos on campus, poor and working-class white students are largely invisible. There are no special programs for them, no easily identifiable professors they can seek out, no student groups to help them belong" (Kaufman, 2001). It would be interesting to see if students' experiences are different on campuses like Carleton, another small liberal arts college also in Minnesota, which participates in TRIO/ Student Support Services, a federally funded program designed for students from working class backgrounds and students who are first-generation college attendees (www.acad.carleton.edu/campus/ADSC/adsc4.html, 2001). It provides counseling services, a textbook library, and offers workshops dealing with class issues. A comparison of attitudes, perceptions, and experiences at schools with and without such programs could help determine if institutional attention to class helps make class more visible and promotes productive dialogue and social change.

References

Cohen, R. M. (1998). Class consciousness and it's consequences: The impact of an elite education on mature, working-class women. American Educational Research Journal, 35(3), 353-375).

Dews, C. L. B. & Law, C. L. (Eds.). (1995). This Fine Place So Far From Home: Voices of academics from the working class. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

hooks, b. (2000). Where We Stand: Class Matters. New York: Routledge.

Jackman, M. R. (1979). The subjective meaning of social class identification the United States. Public Opinion Quarterly, 443-462.

Kaufman, J. (June 8, 2001). "At elite universities, a culture of money highlights class divide," The Wall Street Journal.

Keough, S. (2000, September 8). The de-romanticization of the economically challenged. The Mac Weekly, p. 6.

Ostrove, J. M. (under review). Belonging and wanting: Meanings of social class background for college-educated women's constructions of college. In preparation for J. Ostrove & E. Cole (Guest Editors). Journal of Social Issues, issue on Psychological meanings of social class in the context of education.

Ostrove, J. M. & Stewart, A. J. (1994). Meanings and uses of marginal identities: social class at Radcliffe in the 1960s. In C. E. Franz & A. J. Stewart (Eds.), Women Creating Lives: Identities, resilience, & resistance (pp. 289-307). Boulder: Westview Press, Inc.

Stewart, A. J. & Ostrove, J. M. (1993). Social class, social change, and gender. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 17, 475-497.

Tokarczyk, M. M. & Fay, E.A. (Eds.). (1993). Working-Class Women in the Academy: Laborers in the Knowledge Factory. Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press.

Statement of Purpose and Belief. April 13, 2001. Macalester College. www.macalester.edu/about/purpose/.html.

Tuma, L.. (April 13, 2001). TRIO/ Student Support Services. Academic Development and Support, Carleton College. www.acad.carleton.edu/campus/ADSC/adsc4.html, April 6, 2001.

PARTICIPANTS

68 White women at Macalester College

32 First year students
36 Seniors

Ages 17-22

The Questionnaire

1. **People talk about social classes such as the "poor," the "working class," the "lower middle class," the "middle class," the "upper middle class," the "upper class," etc. Which of these classes do you most identify with?** (Circle one).

Poor	Working Class	Lower Middle Class	Middle Class	Upper Middle Class	Upper Class	Other: _____

1a. **How much do you feel that this social class has affected your life in general?** (Circle one).

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				A great deal

1b. **In the space below, please explain how this social class has or has not affected your life in general.**

2. **Social classes are often defined by factors such as level of education, occupation, income, friends, belief systems/ morals or any combination of these factors. In the space below, please elaborate on which, if any, of these factors influence your identification with the social class that you indicated. If none of the factors seem relevant, please explain why you identify with the social class that you do.**

3. **When you were growing up, what social class do you believe your family might have been most easily categorized as?** (Circle one).

Poor	Working Class	Lower Middle Class	Middle Class	Upper Middle Class	Upper Class	Not Sure	Other: _____

3a. **How much do you feel that this social class affected your life growing up?** (Circle one).

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				A great deal

3b. **Please elaborate on how this social class affected your life growing up. If it did not affect you, please indicate that.**

4. **The College often talks about us students having a certain "Macalester Experience." Has the social class you most identify with shaped your own Macalester Experience?** (Circle one).

Yes	No
Social class has shaped my experience.	Social class has not shaped my experience.

4a. **How much do you feel that social class has affected your Macalester Experience?** (Circle one).

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				A great deal

4b. **Please elaborate on why you believe your Macalester Experience has or has not been shaped by the social class you most identify with.**

5. **About 80% of the students at Macalester are on some type of financial aid. Please indicate the type of financial aid you are on.** (Circle all that apply).

Grant/ Scholarship Work Study Loan Not on any financial aid.

5a. **If you participate in the work-study program, why do you do so?** (Circle all that apply, or leave blank if you do not have work-study).

My paycheck goes to help pay my tuition.	My paycheck gives me pocket money/ spending money.	I want something else to do and to meet new people.	Other: _____ _____

6. **Do you have an off-campus job?** (Circle all that apply).

No I do not have an off-campus job.	Yes My paycheck goes to help pay my tuition.	Yes My paycheck gives me pocket money/ spending money.	Yes I want something else to do and to meet new people.	Other: _____ _____

6a. **How much do you feel that social class has affected your having an off-campus job?** (Circle one).

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				A great deal

7. **Please elaborate on how social class has or has not affected your financial circumstances here at Macalester.**

8. **What social class(es) do you think your three closest friends most identify with?** (Mark one **X** for each friend).

Poor_____ Middle Class _____ Other (What): _____
Working Class_____ Upper Middle Class_____
Lower Middle Class _____ Upper Class_____

8a. **Some researchers have found that a person's social class affects her/his close relationships. How much do you feel that social class has affected your closest friendships?** (Circle one).

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				A great deal

8b. **Please elaborate on your response in the space provided.**

Please feel free to add any additional comments on the back of this sheet.

Gender: Female Male **Ethnicity**: _____
Age: _____ **Year in school**: First Year Sophomore Junior Senior

Coding themes from open-ended responses

Quality of life	
Difficult life	• Any mention of struggle, tough times, things were hard, unsafe neighborhood, feelings of stress & worry
Ease of life	• Any mention of relative ease of life, "I've had things easy," "life has been good", I live in a safe neighborhood, lack of worry or stress, sense of security
Access/lack of access	
to Macalester	• Mentions that she has access to Macalester (e.g. "The fact that I'm at Macalester.")
to basic needs	• Mentions having (not having) her basic needs met (food, water, shelter, safety, basic clothing, health, medicine)
to opportunities	• Mentions the specific things she was/ is (or is not) abie to do (e.g. education, college, extra-curricular activities, traveling, the arts) • Mentions having / not having freedom and/ or choices in general • having / not having options
to possessions	• mentions having / not having "stuff" that is not vital to life (e.g. fashion/ clothing, toys, computer/ technology, sports equipment, car)

Friendships	(examples of coding categories)
Class doesn't affect friendships	• Explicit mention that class didn't have any effect on her friendships or that class doesn't matter • Explicit mention that friendships aren't about class, rather some other factors (e.g. exposure to certain people)
Chose friends based on class	• mentions that she chose her friends based on their class, or that class was a factor in her choice of friends
Class as common background/ understanding	• mentions that friends from a similar class have a common background and understanding
Areas of conflict with friends	• mentions that there are areas of conflict with her friends
Lack of understanding	• mentions that her friends don't always understand her point of view, why she's doing something, or why she's feeling a certain way
Psychological issues	
Alienation	• any mention of feeling like an outsider, not fitting in, or feeling alienated
Guilt	• any mention of feeling guilty "class guilt"
Thankful	• any mention of being thankful or grateful, appreciative, source of personal growth and/or esteem
Privilege	• any mention of having privilege or being privileged herself

Social class identification

Poor	1.5%
Working class	0
Lower middle class	19.1%
Middle class	29.4%
Upper middle class	44.1%
Upper class	5.9%

Revised social class identification

Poor/lower middle class	20.6%
Middle class	29.4%
Upper middle/upper class	50%

The effects of class

... On life in general

	mean
Poor/lower middle class	4.00
Middle class	3.65
Upper middle/upper class	4.15

F (2,67) = 2.08, n.s.

... On their experiences at Macalester

	mean
Poor/lower middle class	3.07
Middle class	2.68
Upper middle/upper class	2.82

F (2,67) = 0.40, n.s.

The effects of class by year in school

... On life in general

	mean
First years	3.72
Seniors	4.19
	($t(66) = 2.29$, $p<.05$)

... On their experiences at Macalester

	mean
First years	2.50
Seniors	3.15
	($t(60.28) = 2.23$, $p<.05$)

Mentions of access

Poor/lower middle class	21.4%
Middle class	75.0%
Upper middle/upper class	61.8%

χ^2 (68) = 10.20, $p<.01$

Mentions of lack of access

Poor/lower middle class	71.4%
Middle class	15.0%
Upper middle/upper class	0

χ^2 (68) = 33.03, $p<.01$

Quality of life

Mentions of "easy life"

Poor/lower middle class	7.1%
Middle class	35.0%
Upper middle/upper class	76.5%

χ^2 (68) = 19.57, $p<.001$

Mentions of "difficult life"

Poor/lower middle class	57.1%
Middle class	15.0%
Upper middle/upper class	2.9%

χ^2 (68) =20.18, $p<.001$

Friendships

Class provides for common understanding

Poor/lower middle class	7.1%
Middle class	10%
Upper middle/upper class	32.4%

χ^2 (68) = 5.80, $\underline{p}$=.05

Mentions of conflict with friends

Poor/lower middle class	21.4%
Middle class	0
Upper middle/upper class	5.9%

χ^2 (68) = 5.77, p = .056

Psychological factors

Mentions of being thankful

Poor/lower middle class	0
Middle class	0
Upper middle/upper class	17.6%

χ^2 (68) = 6.58, $p<.05$

Mentions of privilege

Poor/lower middle class	14.3%
Middle class	20.0%
Upper middle/upper class	44.1%

χ^2 (68) = 5.71, $p<.06$